

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5169

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0163

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, UN

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS ACCEPTS DENKTASH INVITATION

REFS: (A) USUN 0085; (B) NICOSIA 0139

1. UNSGY SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE DE CUELLAR SENT SENIOR POLAD GORGE THIS MORNING TO BRIEF ME ON DEVELOPMENTS LATE JANUARY 17 REGARDING DENKTASH INVITATION TO MAKARIOS. GORGE PREFACED HIS REMARKS BY ASKING THAT THEY BE VERY CLOSELY HELD AND NOT DISCUSSED IN OTHER CAPITALS EXCEPT WITH THE BRITISH WHO ALSO BEING INFORMED.

2. MAKARIOS ASKED TO SEE DE CUELLAR PRIVATELY AND WITHOUT PUBLICITY AFTERNOON JANUARY 17. MAKARIOS SAID HE ACCEPTS DENKTASH INVITATION TO MEET PROVIDED THERE NO PRIOR PUBLICITY AND MEETING IS NOT SCHEDULED BEFORE JANUARY 26. AMPLIFYING, MAKARIOS SAID THAT BECAUSE HE WISHES SECRECY BEFORE MEETING IS HELD; HE WILL NOT EVEN TELL HIS ENTOURAGE UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE (SIC). DELAY UNTIL AFTER JANUARY 26 IS NECESSARY BECAUSE OF A FULL CALENDAR BEFORE THEN. HE DOES NOT
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AGREE TO LEDRA PALACE HOTEL AS A MEETING POINT. IT IS TOO DRAMATIC. ALTERNATIVES ARE (A) PRIVATE LUNCHEON AT DE CUELLAR'S HOME, OR (B) UN HEADQUARTERS ADJACENT TO NICOSIA AIRPORT WHICH IS IN THE AREA BETWEEN THE LINES AND ACCESSIBLE TO BOTH PARTIES BY SEPARATE ENTRANCES. NO ONE BUT DE CUELLAR, MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH TO BE PRESENT. NO MINUTES TO BE TAKEN BY UN. AGREEMENT ON

WHAT TO SAY TO THE PRESS, AND BY WHOM, TO BE REACHED AT MEETING. ARCHBISHOP SUGGESTED CIRCUMSTANCES DID NOT SEEM TO REQUIRE A WRITTEN REPLY FROM HIM. GORGE NOTED THIS HAS THE EFFECT OF LEAVING THE AGENDA OPEN AND HAS ADDED ADVANTAGE OF DUCKING THE ISSUE OF DENKTASH TITLE.

3. IMMEDIATELY AFTER SEEING MAKARIOS, IN ORDER NOT TO GIVE HIM OPPORTUNITY TO WATER DOWN HIS ACCEPTANCE, DE CUELLAR WENT TO TURKISH AMBASSADOR ONHON, WHO WAS HAVING A WRAP-UP MEETING WITH GOT FONOFF DIRECTOR OF GREEK/CYPRUS AFFAIRS TULUMEN. AT DE CUELLAR'S REQUEST, ONHON SET UP AN IMMEDIATELY-FOLLOWING AND ALSO UNPUBLICIZED MEETING WITH DENKTASH. DENKTASH ACKNOWLEDGED ARCHBISHOP'S TERMS. HE APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE AND SAID HE WOULD HAVE FORMAL REPLY IN A COUPLE OF DAYS. HE DID NOT OBJECT TO EITHER OF THE SUGGESTED MEETING PLACES. (GORGE SAYS, HOWEVER, UN WILL MOVE FOR ITS OWN HEADQUARTERS AS VENUE, SINCE THIS DOES NOT ENTAIL COMPLICATIONS OF EXCORTING DENKTASH INTO GREEK-CONTROLLED TERRITORY IN WHICH DE CUELLAR'S RESIDENCE IS LOCATED.)

4. COMMENT: DE CUELLAR/GORGE ARE ELATED OVER ARCHBISHOP'S ACCEPTANCE OF DENKTASH SUGGESTION. THEY REGARD THIS DEVELOPMENT AS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AND POTENTIALLY PROMISING OF MANY A MONTH. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARE REALISTICALLY CAUTIOUS. THEY KNOW THAT SLIGHTEST MISSTEP COULD FRUSTRATE THE MEETING. EACH PARTY WILL BE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE AND PUT THE OTHER IN A BAD LIGHT. WITH AT LEAST EIGHT DAYS BEFORE MEETING CAN BE HELD, THE CHANCES OF A LEAD, ACCIDENTAL OR INTENTIONAL, CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE LARGE. GORGE SAYS THERE IS EVIDENCE DENKTASH CONSIDERS THIS MOVE WAS IMPOSED BY ANKARA, AND IS RESTIVE.

5. HOWEVER, LOOKING AHEAD POSITIVELY, DE CUELLAR HAS ALREADY COME TO SOME CONCLUSIONS. THIS FIRST MEETING MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE THE END. OPPORTUNITY FOR CONTINUING NEGOTIATION AT THIS LEVEL MUST BE KEPT OPEN. AT SOME POINT, IT WILL BE DESIRABLE TO ADD WALDHEIM TO THIS LEVEL, SINCE IT IS NOT APPROPRIATE THAT HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD BE NEGOTIATING AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN HE (WITH UNPRODUCTIVE INTERLOCUTORS PAPADOPOULOS AND ONAN). UN MUST CAREFULLY CONSIDER HOW ACTIVE ITS PARTICIPATION CAN BE, IN TERMS OF ADVANCING SUBSTANTIVE SUGGESTIONS, IN LIGHT OF ITS PURELY GOOD OFFICES MANDATE. END COMMENT.

6. AT THE CONCLUSION OF OUR CONVERSATION I TOLD GORGE THAT CLERIDES WOULD BE SEEING SECRETARY-DESIGNATE VANCE ON JANUARY 19. WE AGREED THAT ONE REASON FOR MAKARIOS

REQUESTING POSTPONEMENT UNTIL AFTER JANUARY 26 IS TO PERMIT HIM TO ASSESS OUTCOME OF CLERIDES VISIT (OF WHICH HE WILL CERTAINLY GET A LEAST A PARTIAL REPORT). GORGE THINKS CLERIDES' TRAVELS MAY HAVE TIPPED THE BALANCE IN FAVOR OF ARCHBISHOP'S ACCEPTING DENKTASH INVITATION -- AS A MEANS OF REGAINING THE LIMELIGHT AND ASSERTING CONTROL OVER DEVELOPMENTS.

7. CLERIDES KNOWS ABOUT THE DENKTASH INVITATION. HE DOES NOT KNOW THAT IT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED.
CRAWFORD

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